593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

729 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
In those villages branch families were established for the most part
591 in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposa
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purcha
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated
from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is
essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, fri
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchas
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
● [426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivate
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branc
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

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Rotation #2, Matsuiz

First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself. [426]

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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes. [434]

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. 231 [262] [527]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about ¥2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is ¥200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 824 [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

[2] The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one.

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagano serves many villages in the Oushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow.

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people.

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut.

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nimo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

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●426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

[574] The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments
[262] of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The
[406] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends
[517] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an
[353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 424 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [177]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues Top of P. 248 -- analyst]

Minatogawa Loan Groups--Loans and Repayments

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Period	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1st Month	*	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
2nd	2100	*	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
3rd	2100	2100	*	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825
4th	2100	2100	2100	*	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850
5th	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770
6th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1840	1840	1840	1840	1840
7th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1880	1880	1880	1880
8th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1810	1810	1810
9th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1910	1910
10th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1700
11th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	---
Amount of Loan	20000	18000	16000	14000	12000	10000	8000	6000	4000	2000	0000
Loan less Discount	20000@	16200	14600	12950	10620	9200	7520	5430	3820	1700	0000
Amount Paid Back	21000	18900	16800	14700	12600	10500	8400	6300	4200	2100	0000

The Asterisk represents the borrower.
Amounts to the right of the asterisk represent loans to him.
Amounts below the asterisk represent his repayments
Amounts above the asterisk show his loans to others.

@ The examples are the assumed highest bids. A received the loan without discount.

Monthly Balances and Final Settlement
(Based on Previous Table)

	Amount Returned	Amount Paid Out
1st Month		20,000
2nd	2,100	16,200
3rd	4,200	14,600
4th	6,300	12,950
5th	8,400	10,620
6th	10,500	9,200
7th	12,600	7,520
8th	14,700	5,430
9th	16,800	3,820
10th	18,900	1,700
11th	21,000	
Total	115,500	102,040
Difference (Value of Interest and Discounts)		¥ 13,460

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn.

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower.

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Minatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organized for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number.

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Minatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others.

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Hanashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
			¥ 2000
1st Month	¥2000 (100 x 20)		2010
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	¥110 (110 x 1)	2020
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2030
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2040
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2050
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2060
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2070
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2080
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2090
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2100
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2110
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2120
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2130
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2140
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2150
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2160
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2170
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2180
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	End of Period
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	

The twentieth member, the banker gets ¥2090 from the other members, which, when added to the ¥100 plus ¥10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals ¥2200.

[655]
[177]

The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

474 Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even nonrelatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[463] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

445 Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
• 426 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
435 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
379 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
249 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 Buying of Labor and Services Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new [465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

445 Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
[648] to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[439] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bulldozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted [262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy. [435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or